

in pulling back the Soviet Union and the United States from what may have been the brink of war in 1962.

Mr. President, John Scali kept this episode a secret, and at this point, I shall bring to the Senate's attention a column by my longtime friend, Max Freedman, himself an erudite gentleman whose very credible thoughts appear regularly in the *Jewish Journal* published in New York City. At this point, Mr. President, let Max take over.

I therefore ask unanimous consent that the Max Freedman column of November 24 be printed in the *RECORD* at the conclusion of my remarks.

There being no objection, the column was ordered to be printed in the *RECORD*, as follows:

[From the *Jewish Herald*, Nov. 24, 1995]

HE PUT OUR RIGHT TO LIVE OVER OUR RIGHT TO KNOW

(By C.H. Freedman)

The greatest tribute to John A Scali in his recent obituary was that most readers had not been that familiar with him.

Such relative non-celebrity status was what made the former ABC correspondent one of the noblest Americans ever.

Scali could have been a "superstar" journalist had he so chosen. Next to him, such names as Cronkite, Donaldson, Woodward and Bernstein would now be comparative bush leaguers had he embraced the same "journalistic ethic" many of them do.

Scali had what was arguably the greatest scoop of all time during the Cuban missile crisis in October 1962—and forwent it for the sake of America and civilization.

I recall the time all too vividly. With city-obliterating Soviet missiles pointed at us and ours at them, and our next day's very existence predicated on national egos and on two posturing leaders' flashpoints, most of us were shaking in our pre-L.L. Bean boots.

In the midst of this national trauma, the Washington-based Scali unexpectedly received a call from one Aleksandr Fomin, counselor of the Soviet Embassy. Fomin, whom Scali knew to be the head of Soviet intelligence in this country, invited him to lunch.

"I'd already had lunch," recalled Scali, "but his voice was so urgent and insistent that I decided to go immediately."

At the Occidental Restaurant, almost in the shadow of the White House, Fomin made an astonishing proposal.

"After the waiter had taken our order," Scali recounted, Fomin "came right to the point and said, 'War seems about to break out; something must be done.'"

Scali recalled answering, "Well, you should have thought of that before you introduced the missiles" in Cuba.

"There might be a way out" of the impending conflict, said Fomin. Suppose that "we would promise to remove our missiles under United Nations inspection and promise never to introduce such offensive missiles into Cuba again? Would President Kennedy be willing to promise publicly not to invade Cuba?"

Scali judiciously replied that he didn't know, but was "willing to try and find out."

To Scali's eternal credit, he forsook his journalism "ethic"—which, to many, demands such story be propagated forthwith—and instead assumed the role of patriot. In the days that followed, he became an unnoticed, unheralded courier shuttling between the White House and the Soviets until the crisis was peacefully resolved.

Not until 1964, when the lines in the sand were long since washed away, did Scali go public with the story.

He received no great tributes then—or at any time since—for the noble career sacrifice he had made two years earlier.

Imagine, especially if you're a devotee of what-if fiction, what the scenario might have been if, say, Fomin had gotten a steady busy signal on Scali's line and in his urgency called one of the dozens of other such correspondents in Washington.

Not necessarily someone like Lyle Denniston of the *Baltimore Sun*—who once told an interviewer that if he'd been old enough for World War II he would have reported the atom-bomb secret or the time and place of the upcoming D-Day invasion; indeed, he boasted, he would have even stolen such war-forfeiting information. "They would have made good stories," he explained. No, Fomin needn't have reached a Lyle Denniston to risk turning us into radioactive cinders; a much more moderate practitioner of the craft would have done just fine—say, one of the thousands of Denniston's colleagues who would never publicly proclaim what he did, but who condone, if not heartily approve of, his stance.

Such reporter would have solemnly agreed to Fomin's request, finished lunch, smiled reassuringly as he or she waved poh-kah (friendly, informal Russian "goodbye") to Fomin, then established a world's record dash—not to the White House, but to his or her newsroom.

There, a pious morality play would be staged by reporter and editors: national security versus that pompously invoked "public's right to know!"

And don't you dare even think that we idealistic journalists, in making such solemn decision, would consider such crass things as instant personal fame, skyrocketing circulation and the like.

But, blessedly, Fomin did not get that busy signal. And thus did not turn to someone who would have broken the story that, given the lost "face-saving" element, could well have led to this city and others becoming Hiroshima II.

It's sad enough to note here that John Scali was never given a fraction of the tribute he would have received had he sold out his soul and America by breaking that story. But besides being denied his moral due, he was treated shabbily in a more direct way.

Based on Scali's expertise in international matters, in 1971 President Nixon appointed him special consultant for foreign affairs and communications; two years later, Nixon named him to replace George Bush as our representative to the United Nations.

But when Gerald Ford assumed the presidency, he unceremoniously dumped this man who had performed so admirably at the post.

To be charitable toward Ford, such action demonstrated that playing football without a helmet does indeed diminish one's reasoning ability.

To be less charitable, it provided further insight into the character of a president who owed his career and prominence to conservatives—and showed his gratitude by choosing as his vice president, the original "Rockefeller-liberal Republican," Nelson.

Had Scali, 33 years ago, embraced the "ethic" of many journalists, there's an excellent chance Ford wouldn't even have been around to take over the Oval Office in 1974; indeed, there might not have even been an Oval Office. Or much of a citizenry left to care about one.

That concept is probably beyond the capacity of Gerald Ford. But maybe some less-dense influential Americans might show belated appreciation to a newsman, John A. Scali, to whom this scared-silly-in-'62 American, for one, feels eternally grateful.

#### THE BAD DEBT BOXSCORE

Mr. HELMS. Mr. President, the skyrocketing Federal debt is now slightly in excess of \$13 billion shy of \$5 trillion.

As of the close of business Friday, November 24, the Federal debt—down to the penny—stood at exactly \$4,989,260,237,257.80 or \$18,939.32 on a per capita basis for every man, woman, and child.

#### PRESENTATION OF THE CROIX DE GUERRE WITH SILVER STAR TO GOV. HUGH L. CAREY

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, of the many commemorative ceremonies held on Veterans Day, November 11, one event had particular significance for the Honorable Hugh L. Carey, the former Governor of the State of New York, and for his family and many friends.

More than 50 years ago, Hugh Carey, then a young officer with the "Timberwolves" of the 104th Infantry Division, United States Army, led a patrol near the Elbe River in Germany. The patrol encountered an encampment of German soldiers who, unaware that Germany had surrendered several days earlier, were holding a large number of French prisoners. A fight broke out, and the Germans were overtaken by the American patrol. This capture by the American soldiers led to the discovery of some 35,000 French prisoners, who were then freed by the Allies.

For his extraordinary valor in this mission, Hugh Carey was awarded the Croix de Guerre with Silver Star, one of France's most esteemed military decorations. Yet, owing to the unpredictabilities of war, he was unable to attend the presentation ceremony for the Croix de Guerre.

Time passed, and Hugh L. Carey continued his service to his country. He was ultimately discharged from active duty with the rank of colonel, and went on to serve as a Member of the House of Representatives and as Governor of New York, raising 14 children with his late wife Helen along the way.

Last Saturday, in a special ceremony at Dacor Bacon House here in Washington, Governor Carey finally got that medal. He was presented the Croix de Guerre with Silver Star by Brig. Gen. Gerard de Bastier on behalf of the Republic of France. The decoration was given in recognition of Governor Carey's "outstanding services during the operations of the liberation of France."

Earlier that day, Governor Carey joined President Clinton at the dedication of the site for the World War II Memorial at The Rainbow Pool on The Mall. As vice chairman of the American Battle Monuments Commission, Governor Carey pursued the establishment of this memorial with his usual vigor and unbounded enthusiasm. His commitment to the project has been such that at one point he even telephoned this Senator about it from his

bed at Lenox Hill Hospital in New York, where he was recuperating from back surgery. He later remarked to the New York Times that his back condition was due to carrying an infantryman's rifle during World War II and the weight of the state budget on his back for two terms as Governor.

So it was fitting indeed that on the same day that Governor Carey's efforts to honor veterans of the Second World War reached fruition, a grateful ally took the occasion to honor him.

Mr. President, I salute my gallant friend Gov. Hugh Carey on this great and richly deserved honor, and I ask unanimous consent that the tribute by Brig. Gen. Gerard de Bastier and other material be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the material was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PRESENTATION OF THE CROIX DE GUERRE WITH SILVER STAR TO GOVERNOR HUGH L. CAREY

On this Veterans Day, November 11, 1995, Governor Hugh L. Carey receives one of France's most esteemed military medals. Brigadier General Gérard de Bastier, Defense and Air Attache to the French Embassy, presents Governor Carey with the medal he earned more than fifty years ago for his valor in World War II. Governor Carey is cited for this distinguished military decoration for his efforts in leading a patrol to free French citizens, imprisoned near the Elbe River by German SS Guards, who were unaware that Germany had officially surrendered days before, in May of 1945. Governor Carey's patrol came upon the German soldiers and their prisoners unexpectedly, and a fight broke out. After Governor Carey's patrol overtook the group, they discovered many other prisoners who had been held by Germany since the beginning of the war. Encampments totaling thirty-five thousand French prisoners, both military and civilians, were eventually found by the Allies.

In 1939, Governor Carey enlisted in the New York National Guard as a Private in the 101st Cavalry, Squadron C. As a Major in the 104th Infantry Division, known as the "Timberwolves," he served as the S-3 in the Regimental command of the 415th Infantry Regiment. The 104th Infantry Division was the first American Division to land directly on the European continent in Normandy without first going to England. The 415th Infantry Regiment's debarkation at Utah Beach began on September 7, 1944, while the other units of the Division debarked at the Cherbourg harbor. Some of the first duties of the Division included supplementing the Red Ball Express to expedite the supplies to the front and to guard the supply lines from Cherbourg to Paris.

Governor Carey served with the Timberwolf Division in its hard fought, ten-month campaign across Northern France and Holland, leading some of the first American troops across the Rhine, and effected the liberation of the Nordhausen concentration camp. A recipient of the Combat Infantryman's Award and the Bronze Star with Oak Leaf Clusters, as well as the Croix de Guerre with Silver Star, he left active duty with the rank of Colonel.

After his distinguished service in World War II, Governor Carey further served his country as a Member of the U.S. House of Representatives and as Governor of the State of New York.

Earlier today, President Clinton dedicated the site for the World War II Memorial to be

built on the Mall in Washington, D.C. Governor Carey is a Commissioner of the American Battle Monuments Commission, and he has been an ardent supporter of the memorial, recently approved by Congress. Governor Carey has represented the United States at events commemorating the 50th anniversary of the end of World War II. His family, friends, and colleagues salute Governor Hugh L. Carey for the honor he receives today from the Republic of France and for his exceptional contributions to the United States of America.

REMARKS OF BRIG. GEN. GÉRARD DE BASTIER

Governor Carey, Governors, Commissioners, ladies and gentlemen:

Today is the date of a very important anniversary in the memories of our nations, which gives a special meaning to this ceremony taking place right after the dedication of the World War II memorial site.

It is a great honor and privilege to be with you today to honor Governor Carey in recognition of his outstanding service during World War II.

I would like to start by saying a few words about Governor Carey's career.

You were born in Brooklyn, maybe just a few years before me! And were graduated from St. Johns' University Law School with the degree of juris doctor.

In 1939, you enlisted as a private in the 101st Cavalry of the New York National Guard. You were later sent to Europe with the 104th Infantry Division known as the Timber Wolves. This division was the first American division to land on the European Continent without first going through England.

After your exceptional campaign in France, you had an outstanding career in civilian and political areas, and you served on various boards.

Finally, in 1993, President Clinton appointed you to the American Battle Monuments Commission, and I should also mention that you represented the United States at various ceremonies commemorating the end of World War II.

The ties between our two countries have always been strong despite our differences, and we have been together, along the road since your revolutionary war. Last month, we celebrated together the battle of Yorktown with the names of General Rochambeau and Admiral De Grasse engraved in our memories.

I was born in 1945, and did not witness the war, but my childhood was filled with stories from my parents recounting the time when the U.S. military headquarters were set up near their house in Marseilles, after the U.S. landing on the Riviera (the "Côte d'Azur").

Governor Carey, you were in Europe in 1944, fighting for the freedom of our nations.

The Timberwolf division fought during a ten-month campaign across Northern France and Holland, leading some of the first American troops across the Rhine, and liberated the Nordhausen concentration camp.

You earned this esteemed military decoration for leading a patrol to free French citizens imprisoned near the Elbe River by German SS guards, who were unaware that Germany had officially surrendered days before, in May of 1945. Your patrol came upon the German soldiers and their prisoners unexpectedly, and a fight broke out.

After your patrol overtook the group, you discovered many other prisoners who had been held by Germany since the beginning of the war. Encampments totaling thirty-five thousand French prisoners, both military and civilians were eventually found by the allies.

For these actions, you received the combat infantryman's award and the Bronze Star with Oak Leaf Cluster.

For some unknown reasons, you never received officially the citation awarding you of the Croix de Guerre with Silver Star.

This ceremony is a testimony to the long friendship between our two countries, and it is a great honor for me to present now this award to you.

Today, Colonel Hugh Carey, on behalf of the French defense minister, I am presenting to you the medal of the Croix de Guerre with Silver Star, in recognition of your outstanding services during the operations of the liberation of France. (Paris, le 1er Avril 1946).

THE CROIX DE GUERRE 1939-1945

The War Cross 1939-1945 (Croix de Guerre 1939-1945) was instituted on September 26, 1939 as a decoration for the Second World War. The decoration was conferrable on officers, noncommissioned officers and men of the Armed Forces, citizens of France and foreigners, who had been mentioned in dispatches for acts of exceptional bravery, and in special cases, also on military units, towns and civilians.

The Cross is a Maltese Cross in bronze with crossed swords between the arms of the cross. The obverse medallion bears the symbolic female head of the Republic with the legend "Republique Française" (The French Republic), and the reverse medallion bears the date "1939" or sometimes "1939-1945". The Cross is worn on a red chest ribbon with four green stripes, which according to the nature of the dispatch, is provided with a palm in bronze or a star in bronze or silver.

CONCERNING LONG-TERM DEFICIT IMPLICATIONS OF REPUBLICAN TAX CUTS

Mr. MOYNIHAN. Mr. President, just prior to the Thanksgiving recess, the Republican conferees for the budget reconciliation bill agreed to a 7-year deficit reduction plan that included a tax cut purporting to cost \$245 billion. The Democratic conferees were excluded from all deliberations of the conference.

I have previously expressed my concern about tax cuts of this magnitude in the face of annual deficits and the accumulated national debt. The conference agreement falls far short of paying for these cuts—the tax cuts will cause the cumulative deficit to increase over the next 7 years by \$200 billion more than it would without them. We will be forced to borrow to pay for them. When one considers the fact that elsewhere in the Republican budget agreement taxes are being raised on families making \$30,000 or less, we see that there is very curious social policy being advanced as well.

Today, however, I would like to focus on another troubling aspect of these tax cuts. The true cost of the cuts explodes once you get beyond the initial 7 years that are counted for estimation purposes. The cost of several of the tax cuts doubles or triples when you include the 8th, 9th and 10th years, as compared to the first 7. This is no accident. The tax cut provisions are deliberately crafted so that their true costs do not begin to show up until after the initial 7 years. That way, they do not show up in the 7-year plan to balance the budget.